184 643 [173] from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin. The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 611 631 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out, it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 651 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. [644] He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] [644] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/ today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 [534 177 192] The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum," "cylinder of a drum."

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231] mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234 with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

566 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 554 [302] [516] The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant [195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the 554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their 562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their 574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well [533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know- [565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and knowing how to play the violin.

565 [83] 513 Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the [842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which 582 are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the [648] other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 [793] 87 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

[651] Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[691] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they
are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
[184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject
any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
[582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered
nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they
have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr
tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a con-
federation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have
Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want
to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble,"
or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the
Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates
persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being
descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called
and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors;
such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq
fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an acci-
dental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and
prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from
the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of
God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
241 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[643] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[657] chiefs participate in the election of the aménokal, and they themselves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, [582] generally of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were [643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
●651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous [567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar, [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they [651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In cer- [567] tain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

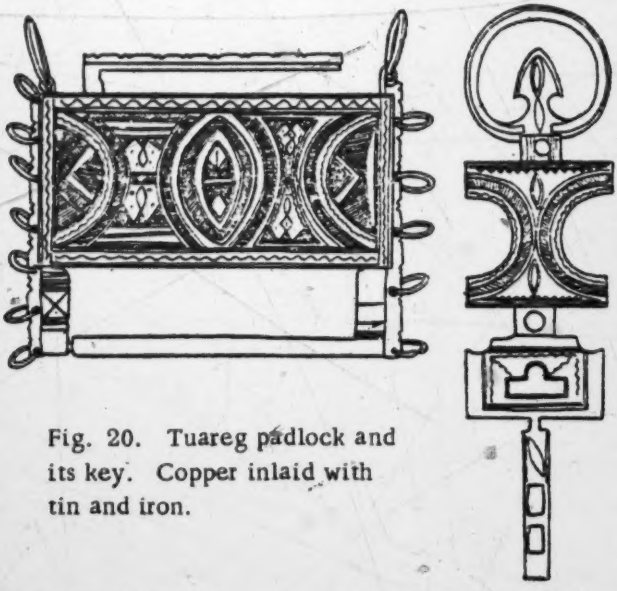

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Adrar des Iforas, known as Tademeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 649 Meslah ag Amayas is a second cousin of Akhamouk. He is a grandson of the former Aménokal Altarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Attici ag Amellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Amenna, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Amastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Anaba ag Amellal, brother of Aménokal Attici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 [643] The aménokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dag Rali pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Ait Loalen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Ait Loalen.

[178 161] But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 644 [643] [582] The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them, abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 643 578 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two tribes, the Dag Râli and the Agouh-en-Tehlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemaren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddin.

● [651] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

[643] The Dag Rali. -- The Dag Râli form the principal fraction of the Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ahnet, they originally formed the Imessiliten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessiliten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dag Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tahat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tamanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhafok, 5) Kel Arechchoum. To the Dag Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dag Rali would have found in Atakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dag Rali still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dag Rali pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the 651 aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dag Rali are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They 233 own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to 556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans 439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation 241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess 423 lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abalessa, Iglen, Tafârit, I-n-Amegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Taitok.

173 631 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis, went to the Taïtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him. They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

[648] They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they 669 rose up, and their women even seized thirty méhari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/. Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they [233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats. [651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated [423] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them, [241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 427 [175] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tioussé.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tarhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tahifet.

631 173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dag Râli and the Kel Ahnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dag Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-ägg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dag Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ărokam, Serouanout, and in the Ănahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241 423] The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

681 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 [181] The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ăgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglân.

[177 233] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Attoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The

[423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but

162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadet camp in Air.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning

233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tafedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tafedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Amegal, Dehine, and Abézou.

Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tafedest. -- The Kel Tafedest or Kel Tégatouté (or ant people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Aseksem, Amegid, and the Adrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tafedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[65] The Kel Tafedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immidir. -- The Kel Immidir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Iheiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Iheiaouen Hada and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immidir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[162] /201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Arak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoulet. -- The Kel Tazoulet or Dag el Mesk camp in [162 233] the Tazoulet region and near Tazerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness [132] of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tazerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Ait Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 798] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tămasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] [461] Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[600] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioual, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis and Isoknăten of the Aïr.

Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1,000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastăn.

631 The amrar of the Tăitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Tăitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ăhnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas,' op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 The Tăitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the
565 vassals, proud of being called Tăitok, espouse all the rivalries of
[582] their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

681 Thieves to end all thieves, the Tăitok have still been able to
648 keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions
[101] they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Ăkabli who sometimes nomadized in the Ădrar Ăhnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrăr, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tâfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tâitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the [651] Tâitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tâitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[69] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tâitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tâfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[512] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

[233 439] Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

193 631 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôghas) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631
[173] 1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dag Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Taitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given to Moussa ag Amastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dag Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Taitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Amastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dag Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dag Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ajjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

619 Kel-I-n-Tounîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Amastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Aménokal Attici ag Amellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ajjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Amegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Anaba ag Amellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Tounîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the
[162] Kel Raris, the Dag-Khamaya, and the Dag Iknân. In all there are about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tafedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ajjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dag Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
[427 the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden.
65] The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

241 Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
427 tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311 Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241 /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

233 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[192] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
693 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tiousse comes
● 651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

patrilineal elements being present together in a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

Land Tenure and Tribute. The Amenokal of the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from that of the President of the United States.

The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs under him collect tribute from those whose destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in [427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or 651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

● 651 Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re- 651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with 178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class System. 233 All Saharan nomads live primarily off their livestock, and livestock lives off pastur- 137 age. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

4: Benhazera--47 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Chapter IV

The Tioussé

We know that the "tiousse" is the tribute that the imr'ad must pay to the nobles in exchange for the protection which they receive. 65 /

This "tioussé" is of two kinds: the first is that which is paid to the chief of the tobol, who may at the same time be the amenokal. This "tioussé" is fairly well fixed, but it varies /54/ nevertheless according to whether the year is good or bad. It is usually paid in autumn, after the date harvest in the oases of the Touat or of the Tidikelt. It may consist of a certain amount of dates or bechna, camel calves, sheep, melted butter, etc., a share of what is brought back by the imr'ad who go in caravans, or finally a share of the loot taken by the imr'ad on raids.

In some fractions, a few groups do not pay the "tioussé" to the chief of the tobol, but to a noble of some ancient tribe, extinct today, which had formerly acquired a small fief, for example, the fraction of the Aït-Loaïn (of the tobol of the Kel R'ela).

There is, as a result, an amazing complexity in which, nevertheless, the Tuareg find their way.

The other kind of "tioussé" is that to which the imr'ad are daily subjected. Each of them and each family among them knows that the maintenance of such-or-such a noble devolves upon them, and he continually comes to beg something. Sometimes the amr'd gives; at other times he gives less. When the noble knows that an amr'id has returned from a caravan and has brought good things, dates for example, he comes and demands his share.

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/ 166 651

Chapter V

The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender. 648 721

The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miaâd," to demand from the djemaâ of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemaâ and beg for restitution. 728

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agriculturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg" *(Imrad*, sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Agg Elkhar, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. [178] 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:– 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

634 727 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] [721] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

634 651 565 The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

Size of Herd.	*Sada ḳa.*
10 camels	2 goats
15 camels	3 goats
25 camels	1 young camel
50 camels	1 full-grown camel
100 camels	2 full-grown camels.

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of [735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

634 692 The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edriet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen 682 [696] had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose 184 682 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two

Groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of the Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:-

Kel Ooui	30 Tuareg veils
Kel Fadei	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Echchikhen	two groups each giving 3 oryx hides
Kel Geres	1 horse with a saddle
Ioullemmeden	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Kel Allekot	150 kg of millet
Damergou Katsena	An amount of millet

The Tuareg name for these payments is *issus* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:- 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *issus* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113).

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:- The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan.

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterised as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans.

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Agouh-en-Tehele Clan.

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

Tenants	Value of Sub-Area	Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal
SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Agouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tödes.	Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication.	2 donkeys
OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds.	3 goats
ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep.	2 goats
KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader.	Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	2 donkeys
DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan.	No particular value.	No land-rent.
AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section.	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asernan section of the Isandan sub-clan.	Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys.	1 donkey
KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Agouh-en-Tehele clan.	Khosni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal.	

621 427 614 283 651 224 423.

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Agouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Agouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Agouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

000 565 614 [431] [602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imesiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tiñhart sections.

Tenant	Name and Value of Sub-Area	Land-Rent to the Amenokal
DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief.	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. – (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant).	2 goats
JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.	TADJEMART No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section	ARECHCHOUM No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section.	IN DALADJ Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section.	AKALARAREN Hunting of barbary sheep.	Unknown
BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tiñhart section.	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area.	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown).
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet.	ABELESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements.	No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area.
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections.	TAESSA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this subarea, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year.	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 138), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(share-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live.

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Rali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death.

As the representative of the Kel Rela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public").

The vassal clans of the Kel Rela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:- 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan.

The whole Dag Rali clan pays its tiouse as follows:- 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Rela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Rali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iskkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
651 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

565 The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
614 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
651 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

233 In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
511 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
[234] the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[262] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food, but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels
[574] are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[98] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temazlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility.

S: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

565 651 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals. But these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals [727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.

565 192 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amachar*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *ahr* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

565 /50 cont./ Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162 563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2,000 meters. The Tuareg [291 132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Taltoks.

[162 563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the Aïr at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

565 621 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-[491] Tarabin. There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag [651] Nissoran. Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

565 /53 cont./ The Mertoutek center belongs to them, and they possess gardens at Dehine and Abezzou.

The tioussé is set at one young camel and a mezoued of [651] dates. The chief of the tribe is Ikharis ag Akcham. They are rich camel raisers and are excellent guides to the Tefedest and the Amadror.

[162 563] The Kel Amguid number about 88 and possess 9 Blacks. They are related to other subgroups of the Issakamaren. They range over the region of Amguid, the Igharghar, and the Tefedest. The Kel Amguid have gardens at Adenek, Mertoutek, and [651] Ideles. They pay a tioussé of four mezoued of dates, an assaber /mat for the tents/, and a young camel. Kelli ag Khabouba is the chief of the tribe.

[162 563] Imrads of the Kel Rela, the Kel Tazolé number 60 Tuareg and 60 Negroes. They possess an important camel herd and nomadize in the region of Tazerouk, chiefly to the east of that center.

The chief of the tribe is El Mamoun ag el Hadj Baba. Tazerouk is their center, and the small neighboring centers belong to them. Their tioussé is three mezoued of dates, [651] three lambs, and a four-year-old camel.

The Kel Tazolé conduct caravans in the directions of Ghat and the Tidikelt. They exchange millet in Aïr.

[162 563] The Eouen n'Hada number 241 individuals and 90 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tefedest, the Ifetessen, and sometimes in the Selbourak wadi. Tadjemout is their agricultural [651] center. They pay the amenokal a tioussé of three mezoued of grain, a young camel, and a rug.

The Eouen n'Hada, whose amrar is Nassamou ag Elias, are guides for the Immidir.

[162 563] The Kel Immidir are around 170 individuals; they have 45 black servants. This tribe nomadizes particularly in the tassili, region of Arak, the Ifetessen, and the Rharis.

[651] They own the palms at Tadjemout and the Djoraf. This tioussé amounts to six mezoued of dates and a rug. The amrar

565 /54/ is Sidi Rali ag el Hadj Mohamed. The Kel Immidir are caravaneers going toward Ghat and the Tidikelt.

The Kel Tefedest tribe is poor: for 61 Tuareg, it has only [162 563] 11 Negroes. Allied to the Kel Tazolé and the Kel Immidir, it nomadizes in the Tefedest and the Immidir. The Kel Tefedest formerly possessed gardens in an abandoned center near In-Amguel (Adjelil). Their [651] tioussé is four mezoued of dates and a young camel. The amrar of the tribe is Ikkan ag Magamed.

The Ikoutessen are very poor and few in number: 85 indi- [162 563] viduals and 20 Negroes. Lamari ag Moudi is the tribe's amrar. They were paying a [651] tioussé of two mezoued of dates, a guerba /waterskin/, and an empty mezoued. The Ikoutessen ordinarily sojourn in the Amguid region; they travel to the Sudan and the Tidikelt.

Formerly belonging to the Taïtoks, the Kel In Tounine now are under the Kel Rela. They are not numerous and live in the Igharghar region. The Kel In Tounine possess gardens in the Ajjers. They paid the Taïtoks, very irregularly, a [651] tioussé of six mezoued of dates and two sheep. They are guides for going in the direction of the Ajjers.

The Kel Ahnet, former imrads of the Taïtoks, at present [162 563] belong to the Kel Rela. This is a poor tribe of 125 Tuareg and 10 Negroes. They are nomads in the Ahnet, the Acedjerad, and the Adrar des Iforas. They are excellent guides for the Tanezrouft. They possess gardens at Abalessa, Tahart, Tit, and Tibeghim, and palm trees in the Ahnet.

The amrar is Daniel ag Chikkat. The Kel Ahnet trade between the Tidikelt and the Iforas.

[162] The Iouarouaren tribe is composed of only 47 individuals and have no Negroes. It nomadizes in the Acedjerad but resides mainly in the Tin-Zaouaten region. Its chief is Bahman ag Beuh. The Iouarouaren possess palm trees at Tibeghim; they have the reputation of being excellent hunters of addax antelopes. They formerly paid the Taïtoks a [691] tioussé of a mezoued of bechéna /millet/ and two bottas of butter. They are guides for the Tanezrouft.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 563] includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[65] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 563] Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[65] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24 left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women, found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs. They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

The Maalmines. Inaden

565 463 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden." The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost always marry among themselves. They are related to the maalmines of the Iforas and of the Aïr. Although very black skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes; some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

439 /66 cont./ girls. The return of the millet caravans is the major event of the year. It is estimated that the millet imported from the Sudan constitutes two-thirds of the Tuareg's food. Once in the Ahaggar, the millet is stored in silos made of clay bricks, based on rock slabs so as to be protected from termites. These constructions, neither cylindrical nor conical, are a curious sight standing near the camps or the villages. The owners are sometimes absent, but no one tries to steal what could easily be taken.

Agriculture

423 [643] The chief characteristic of the land system in the Ahaggar is that the amenokal is, by virtue of his office, the sole owner of the land.

[651] Whoever wants to drill a foggara must first ask permission of the amenokal and must pay him a tax of ten kilograms of wheat per garden.

The garden is the unit of cultivation. One foggara irrigates from /67/ six to ten gardens. Any other surface unit would have no meaning since the size of the cultivated plot depends on the flow of the foggara, which varies according to the year and to the different agricultural centers. At Tamanrasset a foggara waters 3.80 hectares; at Tit, 3.30 hectares; at Ideles, 4.0 hectares. A garden's area, then, varies from 40 to 60 ares. The wheat harvest may amount to 400 kilograms per hectare; the tax in that case is about one-[651] fortieth of the harvest. Whether the owner of the garden is a Targui or a hartani, the tax (mek) is paid to the amenokal.

Trees planted in the gardens remain the property of the amenokal, for they are attached to the ground.

This inalienable possession of the land by the amenokal has enabled the Tuareg to conserve the rare cultivable lands in the Ahaggar. The force of their tribal custom saves them from their individual lack of foresight. Unfortunately, this right of the amenokal retards agricultural evolution and the maximum productive use of the lands of the Ahaggar, because the cultivator can never own the land he works. He has no

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Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Rali tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Rali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

Tenants	Name and value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal*
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant	2 goats
YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section	TAĜMART No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section	ARECHCHUM No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section & AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section	I-N-DALAĜ Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section	AKAL-ERERÈN Hunting of barbary sheep	Unknown
BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown)
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*	ABALESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements	No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections	TEẒẒA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief)

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Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tahlé tribe
(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Izandan*, and *Kel Areḍsu*)

Tenants	Value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal*
SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tahlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twer*	Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalag Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys for domestication	2 donkeys
OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt*	Hunting of barbary sheep Collecting of wild seeds	3 goats
ABERGALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*	Hunting of barbary sheep	2 goats
KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader	Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalag. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys	2 donkeys
DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Areḍsu* sub-tribe forming only one section	No particular value	No land-rent
AKAWALI, chief of the *Izandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afuro-ke hin* section	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernan* section of the *Izandan* sub-tribe	Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset In the past wild donkeys	1 donkey
KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tahlé* tribe	*Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal*	

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *ḍṛéwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hereɣen* (or *amezzaṛ n hereɣen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharuɣen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe
423 (the sections *el Kel Tamanrasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
● [651] *Ihechchemaḍen*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
[585] of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[651] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalfa*). For usufructs,
245 members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
[221] bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
[492] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[564] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[465] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[463] skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf. p. 338 f.).

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of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the Amenukal, or to the 243
Tuareg who has territorial rights (cf. p. 151), while the yield of one garden bed – that is about other [65] [962]
ten kilos – is given to a blacksmith who in return mends hoes and other agricultural implements. The necessary amount of seed-corn, comprising about 50 kilos, should also be withdrawn from the winter crop yield so that his total net profit is about 630 kilos of wheat and barley. To this amount of cereals 241
can be added the yield of summer crops (millet, sorghum, maize, tomatoes, and other vegetables) for

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Fig. 138a–c. Grown cereals from Ahaggar.
a. Millet (*énfil*) (*Pennisetum typhoideum*). b. Two types of sorghum (*aburu*, *tafust*).
c. Maize (*zugufúfil*) (*Zea mays*).

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amenu + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen dar-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the *Imenan* and the *Ifoɣas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraɣen* tribe was given the valley of Iɣarɣaren, while the noble woman of the *Imaŋɣasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraɣen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iɣarɣaren, the *Imaŋɣasaten* east of the *Uraɣen*, and finally the *Ifoɣas* who lived in the region south and southwest of Ṛadames. The *Ifoɣas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoɣas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraɣen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraɣen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imaŋɣasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imaŋɣasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraɣen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraɣen*, while the *Imenan*,

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THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

	Noble tribes		Vassal tribes		*Isekkemaren* tribes	
The *Kel Rela* Drum-Group	*Kel Rela*	275	*Dag Rali*	386	*Iheyawen Hada*	253
			Ayt Lowayen	400	*Kel Inṛer*	176
			Aguh-en-tehlé	585	*Kel Téfedest*	61
			Relayddin	40	*Kel Immidir*	179
			Iklan-en-tawsit	500	*Kel Tazulet*	158
			Ibettenaten	129		
			Ireǧenaten	435		

To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Rela* women, like noble women of the *Uraṛen* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes.

These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireǧenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs.

The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals.

territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḳ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* group.

To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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	Noble tribes	Vassal tribes		*Isəkkəmaren* tribes	
The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group	*Taytoḳ* 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamèsna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	*Kel Ahnet* *Iwerweren* *Tégehé-n-Efis* *Ikuttizen* *Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). *Iṛechchumen* A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	127 47 127 84	*Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938).	
The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group	*Tégehé Mellet* 33	*Kel Turka* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group).		*Kel Terurit* *Kel Uhet*	62 70
Noble Tribes Without Vassals	*Kel-ahem-mellen*	The *Isəkkəmaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe			
	Ikadeyen	Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.			

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aṭub-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tayhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isendan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

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643 651 614 613 565 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsi* as follows:— 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads, are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsi*, are in fact tokens of vassalage, [634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 634 565 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his vassals. This right was known as *abellaq*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal [614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief [614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 634 681 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*edkliyet*) among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151). Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance, [684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly [682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth [614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. Wher. the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. [683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and [178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished [640] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 643 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

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Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However, if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

A certain *elharaka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elharaka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey* group known as the *Anesiafidet*. The *Anesiafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anesiafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anesiafidet* may even be elected

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according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdpanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614 634

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One-night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas'*, and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azerezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tamejit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azerezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewid* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was collected as follows:— 173 631 634 651

137 342 634

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the R.I.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

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Kel Ewey	50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton
Kel Faday	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Echchikhen	two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters
Kel Geres	1 horse with a saddle
Kel Dennek of the *Iwillemmeden*	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Kel Allakot	150 kg of millet
Damergu & Katsena	An amount of millet

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum known as *ettebel* (or *ayezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amyar* or *ayolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

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livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals. They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Inesleman* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

Size of herd	*Sadakat* or *tamesodek*
10 camels	2 goats
15 camels	3 goats
25 camels	1 young camel
50 camels	1 full-grown camel
100 camels	2 full-grown camels

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—

(1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfades* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

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used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *Iluse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaka* or *tamessadek* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Kadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:— Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.